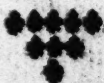


*J. Ma.*  
**HISTORICAL**  
**MEMOIRES**  
*Philippe*  
**ON**  
**THE REIGNS**  
**OF**  
**QUEEN**  
**ELIZABETH,**  
**AND**  
**KING JAMES.**



*Orborn*

---

**LONDON:**

Printed by *J. Grismond*, and are to be  
sold by *T. Robinson* Bookseller  
in *Oxen.* 1658.

22

MEMOIRS

OF THE REIGN

OF

CHARLES



LONDON:  
Printed by J. Galsworthy, and are to be  
sold by T. R. B. Bookellers  
in Great Britain.



---

---

THE  
EPISTLE.

My dear *Lucas*,

**D**O, here leave to your  
better *Educator* another  
*Daughter* of my *Brain*,  
that may not unpossibly  
pass with the less *scandal*, because  
exempt from any desire after new and  
forbidden *Discoveries*, or of disturb-  
ing that huge *Trade* *Antiquity* and  
*Custom* drive; the first amongst  
*Scholars*, who think it a sufficient  
excuse in the justification of a stunted  
*Knowledge*, to maintain an impos-  
sibility of transcending the *Abilities*

---

### The Epistle.

---

of former Ages, yet cannot gainsay a visible improvement in their own; which haply would be greater, were Learning left free to every ones sense, and not confin'd to Patterns and old Forms; harder many times to be imitated or made use of, than new ones found, which being our own, would appear more natural and adapted to the present understandings, in many things strangers to the Usances of the Ancients: where as the second serves as an unbroken Chain, by which the generality are led to approve or dislike the Words, Actions and Gestures of others. Whose judgements, as I have long since not much valued, so have I a little wondred at Age, to finde it so retchy, when Younger in years lay any claim to Knowledge: Since the goodness of the Eye, and advantage of Place, and not a long poring, discovers the Prospect;  
more

---

*The Epistle.*

---

more of *London* being surveyable  
in a minute from *Pauke Steeple*, than  
can be seen in an age out of *Cheapside*:  
There remaining nothing in  
this world *Prescription* hath a weaker  
title to, than *Wisdom*, the legiti-  
mate Daughter *Experience* brings  
forth to an able and active Under-  
standing. For though all things  
are found to own, in process of  
time, a publick *vicissitude*, yet for  
the most part it is so slow and con-  
tingently carried, to be discerned at  
any distance (especially in relation  
to the present) which way it turns.  
The ignorant Traveller may see by  
the Diall, the Time is in a descen-  
sion; but, without entering the  
Church or Court, shall be never the  
wiser as to the knowledge of the  
true and proper Cause of the Mo-  
tion. For my self, I confess I am  
more highly bound to Letters, than  
any acquired advantage or natural

---

*The Epistles.*

---

*endowment* self-partiality or other indulgence hath hitherto been able to estate me in. Now if some owners of such parts as I am conscious of the want of, did prosecute the like study, having a purse and will to purchase a sight of the *Intelligence, Negotiations, Conferences* and *Transactions* of all those that have resided in *Embassy* with our *Princes*, they might no question be able to compose a more exact *Chronicle* than this Nation ever saw of her own: and for *Elegancy*, it would, like honey, drop out of the same leaves he gathered his Information from; *Epistles* being the quintessence of the Writers judgment, as they are undoubtedly the *Elixir* of his *Rhetorick*. And he that desires a more exemplary manifestation of this infallible (though for ought I ever observed, seldom practised) Truth, may finde it in  
that

---

### *The Epistle.*

---

that learned Italian's *History of the Council of Trent*; a Piece that challenges all the *veneration* our partial *Modern Readers* do or can offer at the *Shrines of Antiquity*; a folly sure not so conversant in the world before *Printing*, otherwise the most part of *New Books* from time to time had still been buried in their *Swadling-clouts* for want of *Transcription*, which few or none would now foul their fingers ends about, as not esteeming it worth the labour, out of sloth or contempt: So far, as the *Stationers* meer *zeal to Gain*, rather than any propensity to the *advancement of Learning*, did for a while keep *Bacon*, *Rawleigh*, and divers incomparable *Spirits* more, from perishing at the bottom of *Oblivion*; Good *Books* (anciently written in the *Bark of Trees*, and now) running, in their progress, so exactly the fate of *Acorns*,

---

## *The Epistle.*

---

*Acorns*, that if their chance be to  
withstand the *Swinish Contamination*  
of their own *Age*, and trampling  
into the dirt of *Contempt*, they do  
not seldome afterwards become the  
*Gods* of the *Nations*, and have  
*Temples* dedicated to their *Worship*;  
As their *Authors* in this participate  
with other good men, who attain  
not to a state of *Glory* till after this  
*Life*.

---

---

TRADITIONAL  
MEMOIRES  
ON  
THE REIGN  
OF  
QUEEN  
ELIZABETH

---



---

LONDON:

Printed for T. Robinson Bookseller  
in Oxon. 1658.

ADDITIONAL  
MEMOIRS  
OF  
THE REIGN  
OF  
QUEEN  
ELIZABETH.


---

LONDON:

Printed for T. Cadell in Bow Church Lane.  
in 1794.



To the R E A D E R.

 Though the study of History  
be an ancient Prescript for  
the avoiding of Ignorance;  
and production of Know-  
ledge, and to this day far more in use  
than any other Politick Aphorisms:  
Yet with reverence to this confessed  
excellent Dose of others approved  
Experiments, I doubt not but Prin-  
ces and men in Power might finde a  
readier, if not a more infallible way  
to Prudence, by being conversant in  
all sorts of Letters relating to Em-  
bassadors, and such Spies and Mi-  
nisters (of Common-wealths espe-  
cially) as are employed abroad or at  
home in the Transactions of Treaties,  
where all things appear bare-faced and  
at first hand, not smutted with In-  
terest,

## To the Reader.

terest, or adulterated by the red and  
white paint of Envy, Fear or Flattery.  
Nor is the frequent opportunity  
of discoursing with Contemporaries  
(who having enjoyed a New  
Light, cannot but have seen more  
than those by Time and Birth placed  
at a remoter distance) any despicable  
Ingredient in the Composition of  
an exact Statesman, of which I find  
few that deserve (in my judgement)  
the title, commonly forfeited to an  
over-remissness or excess in Sancti-  
ty or Profaneness; or, if you will, to  
Hypocrisie or Scandal, which at long  
running will meet both with the same  
Inconveniences. To be sure, my  
self have as little propensity as In-  
ficiency in this Art; being no less  
abstracted through miseries received  
from Fortune than Nature; the  
latter of which is as incapable of  
amendment, as the first is unlikely to  
find it: (For after the death of a  
good

## To the Reader.

good Father, being driven into a corner of the world by Injuries received from the nearest of Kindred and remotest of Friends, I was not only invited by Leisure, but compell'd through Necessity to seek those Diversions: In which if I be mistaken, the Pardon cannot be long in swinging out, since I hope they shall not meet with a severer Judge than my self, for whose Recreation alone they were intended.) Though the small insight I have had into Affairs did not seldom gratifie my spleen with as much delight, as it may have not unposibily affected less sanguine Complexions with fury or disdain, to see the Valet brought into play, where discretion called for an higher and more exact Courtier: or to hear the People wrangle and cast about their money, through a phanatick desire to discard a present Government, not foreseeing, their hopes may possibly be deluded in the same,

## To the Reader.

same, if not a worse Stock than they make out and lay by; often bartering a pack of Fools for a like quantity of Knaves and Mad-men: The giddy multitude being far likelier to be out in their account, then this advised Adage, Seldome comes a better, especially if no wiser heads be found in the Election than their own.

Nature hath employed three Senses chiefly to wait on the Body, and but two on the Minde; yet under this advantage, that these last are distinctly double: For which of them we stand most obliged to Nature, is not yet pass'd decision; since, though in regard of Pleasure, Sight may have the Royalty, yet in respect of Wisdom, the Prerogative must not be denied to Hearing: It being the far greater Wonder to finde a prudent man Deaf, than Blinde; so as some are recorded to have put out their Eyes, as enemies to Contemplation.

ordin

## To the Reader.

ordinarily affirmed, I have seen this or that, when the most of it hath arrived at us from Report. And in this sense I may be said to have seen these, and a number more, which out of respect to others Fame, or mine own Safety, I wilfully omit. But lest this Confession might seem to cast a veil of prejudice over the face of that Truth I here expose to the curious eyes of this Age, as nakedly as Modesty will give a toleration for, I shall say in behalf of Tradition, That all Books are her Tenements, and contain little of History, whatever they may do of Invention, but what they hold from Manner of some Report or other. Nor hath the beginning, to be sure, if possibly the end and period of any Nation God in his love did establish, or fury destroy, a more faithful Register than Traditional Reports, not commonly loading its memory with the exact calculation of Time, which rightly weighed,

---

## To the Reader.

---

weighed, is but the pedantick part of History, and so not unlikely the cause we finde such differences arising amongst our Chronologers; the main fons or bottom of her account being so further corraspensible, than for a just and even balancing her layings out with what she hath received. To conclude with an Answer to those that may require some account of the present Undertaking; I think it far on this side such impudence as ignorance is found to plaister her Libels with against incomparable Queen Elizabeth. to own a strength able, by rubbing off such dirt (especially where Defect lies so thick upon her Tomb) to gild her Name, though the manner of doing it may stain mine own; since the few spots discernable in her Government are hidden, like those this Ages curiosity hath detected in the Sun, from any farther notice, by the splendor of the rest.

THE

THE  
Principal HEADS

Of the following

MEMOIRES

On the Reign of

QUEEN  
ELIZABETH.

1. **Q**ueen Elizabeth her moderate carriage  
at first, till exasperated by the Paper  
rashness: Why the Infancy of her  
Reign continued quiet, notwithstanding so  
great a shake and turn in Religion—

2.—To

## *The principal Heads*

2. ——— To which she was in a manner necessitated.

3. How the Parliament confirmed it and Her.

4. She breaks with Spain, assists the Dutch, makes Leagues abroad, suppresses Conspiracies at home: Papists prosecuted; The Pope's too late Concession ——— being refused ——— is seconded with an Interdict, ——— which proves fatal to the Papists, and ——— Queen of Scots, ——— Her death and the D. of Norfolk's, &c. ——— censured.

5. Q. Eliz. calls the Spaniard: calls voyage under Essex ——— gets him Love and Envy.

(6. The Queen's Factions at Home, and what use she makes of them, and of ——— her Intestacy. The Spanish Armada in 58.)

7. The Queen's favour to Essex, ——— how often by him regarded: His quarrel with Blount ——— designed for his Rival.

8. His Enemies restless endeavours to ruin him ——— by setting him on high; his ample Irish Commission.

A Character of the Q. Court, Majesty, Thrift: Protestant rage, Exactions of Purveyors punished.

9. ——— A witty Example thereof in Kent.

10. Her Household, Servants the goodliest of Person, &c. that could be got: ——— 25

11. ——— Her Council the choicest for Prudence: ——— apparent in her Marriage-Treaties with Spain and France.

12. Her Councils Integrity. Offers the reward of



## *of the following Memoires.*

of Merit. Her exact Intelligence. B. Bancroft's Art in dividing the Jesuites and Regulars—afforded him Popish Intelligence: His Character: His endeavours for Uniformity of worship—hindered by the influence of the two clashing Factions at Court upon the other Bishops, &c.

13. Letters of State writ in a plain Style, —involving sometimes an obscure sense, as these about her Marriages with France.

14. Court-Hospitality.

15. Her prudence in receiving Treats from her more ambitious Subjects; how she diverted their humour of Popularity.

16. She opposes the Declaration of a Successor, and why: Denies the Parliaments Petition for her Marriage.

17. Contrary Reports about her Concupiscence. Her Art of Government and choice of Ministers: Why some of best Abilities were taken in afterwards: E. of Nottingham Admiral; his Character. The Queen sparing in giving Honours, or suffering her Subjects to accept them from Foreign Princes: Examples thereof in Sir F. Vere, Sir W. Rawley, Sir Mat. Arundel, Sir P. Sidney.

18. Her modesty in point of Augmentation of Empire; refusing the Dutch as Subjects, though she took their Customary Taxes, and showed Grace—to regain Calis. The Quarrel by cutting off the Head of the Dutch Nation, makes way for the springing up of their Hopes of Popular Government.

## The principal Heads

19. *Leicesters hopes of marrying the Queen; his freedom of discourse with her about it, and otherwise. His character.*

20. *In Foreign Injuries she never precipitated Revenge.*

21. *Parliaments frequent, and consequently moderate: She restrains their Debates about Succession and Religion: Keeps the Church humble, and carries fair with her Parliament. The Schismatics leave England; how it might have been (safely) prevented; what hindered it; the fatal inconveniences of those proceedings.*

22. *Ireland neglected, and why: The Lord Mountjoy ends the War: The baseness of the Irish, — how much Priest-ridden.*

23. *Essex unfortunate Expedition thither; — Crisps artifice to fetch him back, to his Death; — From which, neither the Love of the People, nor of the Q. his Mistress, could bail him, and — after which she never joyed; — The occasion of her Death — reported to proceed from the Countess of Nottingham; not delivering the Q. a Ring, sent her by Essex, (to whom she had formerly given it as a Pledge of her Affection and his Safety) which she presents on her Death-bed discovering to the Queen, was by her sent with curses in stead of forgiveness, into another world.*

24. *After Essex's death, Crisp being left without controll, not onely urges the Q. to declare for her Successor, but uses other endeavours to effect the same.*

25. The

---

*of the following Memoires.*

---

25. The happy condition Q. Eliz. left England in. No considerable Enemy. How we stood related to other Nations——Spain, Ireland, France, Netherlands, &c.

26. How at home, as to Parliaments, Credit, Treasure, Debts, Justice, The Church.

27. The Conclusion.

---

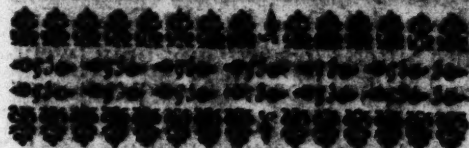
Some

---

of the following Minutes.

1. The first meeting of the Association was held on the 1st of January, 1841, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
2. The second meeting was held on the 15th of January, 1841, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
3. The third meeting was held on the 1st of February, 1841, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
4. The fourth meeting was held on the 15th of February, 1841, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
5. The fifth meeting was held on the 1st of March, 1841, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
6. The sixth meeting was held on the 15th of March, 1841, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
7. The seventh meeting was held on the 1st of April, 1841, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
8. The eighth meeting was held on the 15th of April, 1841, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
9. The ninth meeting was held on the 1st of May, 1841, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
10. The tenth meeting was held on the 15th of May, 1841, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
11. The eleventh meeting was held on the 1st of June, 1841, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
12. The twelfth meeting was held on the 15th of June, 1841, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
13. The thirteenth meeting was held on the 1st of July, 1841, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
14. The fourteenth meeting was held on the 15th of July, 1841, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
15. The fifteenth meeting was held on the 1st of August, 1841, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
16. The sixteenth meeting was held on the 15th of August, 1841, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
17. The seventeenth meeting was held on the 1st of September, 1841, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
18. The eighteenth meeting was held on the 15th of September, 1841, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
19. The nineteenth meeting was held on the 1st of October, 1841, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
20. The twentieth meeting was held on the 15th of October, 1841, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
21. The twenty-first meeting was held on the 1st of November, 1841, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
22. The twenty-second meeting was held on the 15th of November, 1841, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
23. The twenty-third meeting was held on the 1st of December, 1841, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
24. The twenty-fourth meeting was held on the 15th of December, 1841, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
25. The twenty-fifth meeting was held on the 1st of January, 1842, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
26. The twenty-sixth meeting was held on the 15th of January, 1842, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
27. The twenty-seventh meeting was held on the 1st of February, 1842, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
28. The twenty-eighth meeting was held on the 15th of February, 1842, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
29. The twenty-ninth meeting was held on the 1st of March, 1842, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
30. The thirtieth meeting was held on the 15th of March, 1842, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
31. The thirty-first meeting was held on the 1st of April, 1842, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
32. The thirty-second meeting was held on the 15th of April, 1842, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
33. The thirty-third meeting was held on the 1st of May, 1842, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
34. The thirty-fourth meeting was held on the 15th of May, 1842, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
35. The thirty-fifth meeting was held on the 1st of June, 1842, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
36. The thirty-sixth meeting was held on the 15th of June, 1842, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
37. The thirty-seventh meeting was held on the 1st of July, 1842, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
38. The thirty-eighth meeting was held on the 15th of July, 1842, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
39. The thirty-ninth meeting was held on the 1st of August, 1842, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
40. The fortieth meeting was held on the 15th of August, 1842, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
41. The forty-first meeting was held on the 1st of September, 1842, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
42. The forty-second meeting was held on the 15th of September, 1842, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
43. The forty-third meeting was held on the 1st of October, 1842, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
44. The forty-fourth meeting was held on the 15th of October, 1842, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
45. The forty-fifth meeting was held on the 1st of November, 1842, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
46. The forty-sixth meeting was held on the 15th of November, 1842, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
47. The forty-seventh meeting was held on the 1st of December, 1842, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
48. The forty-eighth meeting was held on the 15th of December, 1842, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
49. The forty-ninth meeting was held on the 1st of January, 1843, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].
50. The fiftieth meeting was held on the 15th of January, 1843, at the residence of Mr. [Name], [Address].

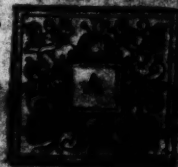
Some



Some

*Traditionall Memorialls*  
on the Reigne of  
*Queene Elizabeth.*

I.



For the death of  
Mary, eldest daugh-  
ter of Henry the  
eighth, had deliv-  
ed this Nation for

that time, from an imminent danger  
of becoming Tributary to the Span-  
ish King, (who owned none but  
naturall Subjects) and without  
Pride and Austerity this may be

B

to face a Tyranny equall to the *Grand Signior's*). And left the Crowne to her Sister *Elizabeth*, not only swept and washed from all Competition or Claimes by the blood of *Queene Jeane*, but garnished with the applause and consent of the people; no less amazed at the huge fires she had daily kindled to devour the enemies of the *Court of Rome*, then jealous of the partiality shewne to the *Priests*, whose exactions were become no lesse odious in things temporall, then their latine *Mumfimus* had made them appeare in what related to the worship of God; *Edward the sixth's* reigne being too short to give them a liberty, or make all the inconveniences appeare likely to follow. so totall a defection from a Church revmenced by all *Christians* and *Princes* besides. It might be no small motive to the new *Rome*, so fairly to demean her selfe at first, that

that though she entertained the *Pro-  
testants* in hope, no perswasions  
could tempt her to cast the *Papists*  
into dispaire, till the *Pope* (better  
seen in the Dignity belonging to his  
greatnesse, then the Arts his Prede-  
cessors had used in their conduct to  
it) did, by denying her *Embassa-  
dors* a favorable *Reception*, reduce  
her to a present necessity, of re-  
nouncing the *Roman* *Religion*, or her  
pretence to that Crowne she had  
without any considerable oppositi-  
on so happily possesse. There being  
no way so probable to continue her  
in power, after the *Popes* so publike  
manifestation of a blemish in her  
Birth, as by adhering to a Party  
which during the Reigne of her Si-  
ster, did justify in the flames of a  
hot persecution, That the Autho-  
rity of his Holinesse was spurious it  
selfe, and the owners of it no better  
then *Anti-Christ*, which attempt

of hers might possibly have worse succeeded, but for the protection *Philip the second* afforded during the infancy of her power, flattered to it in hope of *Marriage*, no lesse then compelled out of a feare to see *England* possessed by the *Scots*, a people ever in conjunction with *France*, and therefore likely to prove malignant to his affaires. And as these considerations had made him solicitous of her safety during his Match with her Sister, they continued still so prevalent as he did not only forbear him selfe, but restrayned others from making use of that advantage, so totall a defection could not but afford. Nor was the aspect of a *Councill* then sitting in *Trent*, (to which she omitted not to send her Ministers) of small consequence to her designe, Because not only this nation, but all *Europe* were in the strongest of their labour to produce



duce a *Reformation*; Though farre short of the pretences of *Luther*, to whose memory the *Queene* had an unappeasable feud, ever since he upbrayded her Father with the *Repudiation* of *Charles* the fifts Sister: whose birth by this became so unhappy as to be not only disapproved by the *Catholickes*, but the Founder of that profession she meant to establish. Nor were the *Religious houses* and *lands*, possessed promiscuously by those of both tenents, a weak shelter to this new Princeesse, looked upon by all as the likeliest and most obliged person to keepe them from reverting to their ancient use; And therefore in hope to be vigorously asserted by the *Protestants*, and at worst but weakly opposed by such as had not yet quite relinquished the Roman yoke.

2. And that the penners of this Story may be as free from the imputation.

putation of malice as Ignorance, though they acknowledge her rather thrown, then of her selfe fallen from the obedience of *Rome*, is deducible from the *Ceremonies* used at her *Inauguration*, all purely *Catholike*, and the retention of the *Ring*, *Crosse* and *Surplice*, contrary to the grayne of her strongest assertors. From whence her ayme may be ghest as not poynting at a greater dissent from the doctrine of *Rome* then her Fathers proceedings had chalked her out; Commanding the *Common prayer book* (which contains most of the *Mass* in English) to be publikely read; And its opposers the *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, *Family of Love* with a number of other crawling errors, the unnaturall heate of *Luthers* disputes had produced like Insects over all *Germany*, to be restrained under no lighter penalty then Death or Imprisonment.

Nor

Nor was she tempted to this out of a vainer hope then to draw her neighbour Princes to the same resolution, already in dispaire of procuring good from any milder indeavours then those of power (The *Roman Courstiers* participating so much of the nature of the Mules they ride on, as they will rather endure through a sullen obstinacy, the last extremity, then remoove never so little out of their track of honour and profit; no lesse manifest through all Ages, then in their carnage towards this Princeesse and their later proceedings with the *Republique of Mexico*). From whence more conuivance then love, fell to the share of the *Parliaments*, that abhor'd the lenity of the *Queene*, in not countenancing such as bent their force against the *Church of Rome*. (betwixt which and the *Cowes* there may be a wider difference then our groser dis-

putes will suffer us to discern ) from whose practice, though some desired a *Reformation*, a farre greater part thought it damnable to reject it quite: few yet acknowledging any *Descent* or *Ordination* but what was derived from the *Catholike Church*, a terme of too great a Latitude to be concealed for a day, much lesse for whole ages as many indeavour to prove. But leaving these disputes to Dr *Fuell* and the rest of her Divines (at that time better able to play the Scholars prize, then any amongst the Fryers, were found in their Answers) Her Juncto, in which she had a choyce number consisting of both Factions, did think it prudence not to stray farther then the inexorable necessity of the time compeld, from that union of Doctrine which had a *Councill* to vouch, That *no faith was to be held with any but themselves*; which must have rendered

rendered all her Leagues voyd or uselesse to the very Oaths she took of her Subjects: yet notwithstanding these Shackles she spunne out a long and as happy a Raigne as ever this Nation did enjoy.

3 The precedent Reasons joyn-  
ing forces with the deplorable con-  
dition she lived in during the Go-  
vernment of her Sister, and meeting  
with so Fortunate a Catastrophe,  
caused a no lesse consternation in  
the hearts of the *Papists* (already  
much broken and unsetled in their  
passage through so many suddaine  
and unexpected changes) then it  
produced joy in those of the *Refor-*  
*mation*, who apprehending her suc-  
cesse as issuing out of the immediate  
care God had of their affaires, became  
so farre encourag'd and sedulous,  
that whilst the other party stood  
amazed in an expectation which way  
this new Princesse would incline,

the ensuing *Parliament* was wholly made up of such persons, as had already voted in their words and actions every thing the *Queene* could desire to have confirmed in the House: so as no side but were mistaken in their account, the *Protestants* gaining more, and the *Catholics* lesse then could be expected, to the taking the title of head of the Church, and conferring it on her Majesty, which was thought unsutable to her Father and Brother, and therefore farre more unbecoming the person of a Woman; the cause a *Declaration* was not long after issued out, to shew in what senses it was to be understood. And to prove they more intended the limitation of the *Roman power*: then to secure themselves from Tyranny at home, an *Act* was passed enabling the *Queene and Commissioners* for the time being, to alter or bring what

Ceremonies of Worship they thought  
decent into the service of God, with-  
out excepting that formerly ex-  
ploded: whereby a returne, (like-  
lyest to be made use of) or a farther  
remoove was left arbitrary at the  
will of the Queene: whose succes-  
sors not being mentioned in the  
Act, left roome to question. It  
ought to be no longer in force then  
her life. For whose gratification al-  
one her Privy Counsell (that did  
then and indeed almost all her time  
governe Parliaments) had intended  
it. But King James and the Bishops  
finding the Advantage it brought  
the Church, no lesse then the Church,  
did not only count it amongst the  
Statutes unrepealed and in force,  
but did print it with a Proclamati-  
on to strengthen it, at the begin-  
ning of the booke of Common Prayer.  
Neither had the high Commis-  
sion any better vizard so face the  
Tyranny

Tyranny daily practised by the Clergy, but what the authority this Act did afford; which may one day tempt the people to a new, if not a more dismall Reformation, after experience hath taught them how pernicious it is to intrust either Prince or Priest with any power capable of abuse: yet to the honour of this Princesse it may justly be said, that she never made use of her owne liberty to enslave the nation, but repaid or rather exceeded in thanks and acknowledgments all power they gave her, an Art lost in these latter times or thought unlingly. But I leave this her wisdom to be justified by the happy successe.

4. After the Queen had in Parliament, cleansed her *birth* from all the spots the poyson of tongues had aspersed her with, and received for the future from the *Houses* in the  
name



name of the *three Estates* a promise of Assistance, together with an Oath of Obedience, by which she might rest secure from within; her next indeavour was to line and fortify her *out-workes*: In the prosecution of which she was forced through Reason of State upon a deeper ingratitude then I believe any thing but an impulsive necessity could have cast her into: For after a firme settlement she became the severest Scourge to *Spaine*, that it ever had, since emancipated from the *Moor*s. The occasion of which some lay at the haughty and proud Gate of the Spaniard, who grew implacable after he found he was deluded of his hope to marry her; others to a nature residing in all Princes, not to acknowledge any friends or kindred but what are allied to a capacity of doing them some future good, which Philip the second was not likely to

do

do upon any remoter occasion then the possession of her person, his ends being intent upon an absolute Monarchy: which obliged not only *England* but all the Princes in *Europe* to oppose him. Nor could any favour received in the relation of a private person bind her more to requital, then greater injuries did to revenge. Therefore since she forgave the latter, when she had power to have taken it without danger, she seems more excusable in omitting the first, which could not have been done without losse, and exposing her subjects to a visible inconvenience, if not a totall ruin.

Yet this is manifest in the histories on both sides, that the Queen did by way of mediation, long endeavour for a milder Government of his *Dutch* Subjects (of whose oppression both *Heaven* and *Earth* are witnesses) before a sword was drawn

drawne in their defence. And for  
the *Treasure taken at Sea*, and at  
first owned but he borrowed, it was  
not more then the Faith of England  
might have been a sufficient secu-  
rity for, without being made the  
subject of a warre. Nor did the  
*Catholike King* remaine long in a  
condition able to distresse the af-  
faires of England, his power being  
diverted through a malecontented  
party that stood up for Religion in  
the *Netherlands*, at first fomented  
by *France*, and after more ordi-  
nally assisted by our *Queen*, who  
delighted more from her first as-  
sumption into power in raising  
broyles, and making her selfe an ar-  
bitrator of others differences, then  
in any quarrell contracted of her  
owne by which she did not only  
keep her selfe in plight at home, by  
spending money (harder parted with  
by the English then blood) but  
gained

gained so much reputation abroad, as no publique or private indeavours of his holinesse could stop other nations (already scandalized at his base and unworthy Jugling in the Councill) from confirming or making new or straighter Leagues with England then formerly they had done: looking upon her *Defection* as a president they might one day be forced to follow, in case the *Court of Rome* continued still her Contumacy towards Princes: And therefore likelier to meet her with comfort and assistance, then any force to oppose her. From whence his Holinesse was necessitated, in vindication of his honour, to employ the *Jesuits*, his owne emissaries, by Artifice, Poyson or the Knife to bring about that his sword was not able to execute; so as the peace of her Kingdome was at first more interrupted through *privy Conspira-*

*gracies* then open force: which according to the guise of all unsuccessfull Treasons, turned to the disadvantage of themselves and their party, the poore *Catholickes*; against whom nothing in relation to the generality remaines upon due prooffe sufficient to justify the severity of the Lawes daily enacted and put in execution against them; wherewith they were ground in pieces between the *Papists* Obstinacy, and a *Jelousy* these practises bred in there naturall Prince; by whom they were without question prosecuted rather out of feare then malice: which *his Holinesse* at length perceiving did offer what he denied; which was to confirme her Title, and ratify the use of the *Common-Prayer*, with the most of what the *Parliament* had confirmed upon her; provided she would receive them as favours from the *Apostolicall*

call Sea. But after this his too  
compliance had cast him into the  
condition that have unadvisedly  
out stood the Market, he in no  
lower Malice then dispaire, call  
not only the person of the Queene  
but the whole Nation under a bol  
tomlesse *Interdict*, which was then  
dered out at *Rome*, and hung like  
squib by one *Felton* upon the *Bishop*  
of *London's Gate*, where after the  
execution of the party that did  
all other malignancy ceased but  
what fell upon his owne creature  
who till then were not forbidden to  
communicate (in publique service  
with the *Church of England*, and  
harder to be discovered, then first  
this open rupture. Nor was the  
*Queene of Scots* (whose Tragical  
History is to be found every where  
written in large) more obliged to  
her Catholick Father, through  
whose incouragement she was temp

ed to assume the *Title and Armes*  
of *England* very unseasonably du-  
ring her husbands sicknesse, and  
before her owne Kingdome was  
settled, or any considerable force  
manifested, in her favour: It not  
pleasing *France* it selfe (of whose  
King she was after the Relict) to  
see all *Britanny* united under one  
Crown, and from whence dropped  
so much of the venome of Jealousy  
into the hearts of *Elizabeth* and  
her Counsell, as no means was  
left unsought likely to distresse her,  
especially by the *Puritan* party,  
whose fury lay in her desire, and  
and who hummed no undecency car-  
rying any probability of being in-  
strumentall in her remove, forget-  
ting that the persons of Princes  
have been thought by all wise men  
too sacred to have any hand or ju-  
stice appeare in their death but  
Gods. Now as these studied all  
waies

waies to destroy her, so there was as considerable a Faction in the *English Court* that desired her preservation, the cause not only that held her long captive (many wishing her restraint that abhorred her execution) but deterred all who had either estate or honour to look from attempting in their owne person, or conniving at any other likely to be so wicked as to make her away: though our *Queene* may be found in many of her Letters intimating so much to such as kept her, who were so wise as not to understand what was meant, else they might have fallen into the fortune of *Davison*, who unadvisedly venturing between the honour and safety of his Prince, was ground to nothing betwixt the fury of one party and shame of the other: Thus because no body either would or durst do it alone, the re-  
proach



broach was intayled upon the whole Nation, by the apparition of a mimick and counterfeit Justice: Reason of State in such nice points as these, being so contrary to that in the Schooles, as it is most safe and honourable when it hath the least Authority to vouch it. And if the Actors of this Tragedy had not found more security from the long reigne of *Elizabeth*, then the applause they had from *Scotland* was able to have afforded them upon the next change, I believe so many of their race had not sat in the house of Lords. Nor was the amorous rather then traiterous blood of the *Duke of Norfolk* spilt on the scaffold for her sake, more consonant to Justice or the affections of her Subjects, though quietly indured, as a number of other particulars which happened in her time, that were not able to make answer

or give a perfect account, some to Justice, others to Discretion. The  
 proves that the common people  
 are like rivers which do seldom  
 grow so impetuous as to transgress  
 the banks of Obedience, but upon  
 the overflowing of an epidemic  
 and illegal Oppression.

Not to wade any farther  
 thus, the greatest blot I find ob-  
 jected to her honour, or prudence  
 those assisted at the helm, who  
 misarrange lay more in the Cer-  
 mony then substance of the thing,  
 no lesse gratefull to the present  
 fayres of the Protestants in *Scot-  
 land* then *England*; it being the  
 policy of those times, as I believe  
 it ought to be of these, to render  
 Alliance no lesse acceptable to  
 friends, then terrible to enemies,  
 through a reasonable supply of men  
 and money before delay (the  
 trayer of all confederations) had

rendered

ordered affayres desperate: not omitted by her, who by sea and land made it her constant practice to annoy the Spaniard through the conduct of those Scourges of Neptune, Drake, Furbusher, Cavendish, & Walter Ransly &c. and in that successful first expedition to Calicut under the Command of Essex, a man of a contere not only profitable to a Camp but gratefull to Ladies) by which the Catholick King was so unexpectedly alarmed, as Cardinal Di Ossat owned it, for the most universall Opinion, that the whole Nation or a great part of it might have been gained, had he profecuted his immediate fortune for the extent of their former number of the *Atarisco* race desiring in that Juncture to change their masters, for one more Christian, though lesse Catholick, and under whom no Inquisition was exercised.

exercised. This made his coming back so soone thought as miraculous as his successe by those that were strangers to his Commission, which he exceeded upon the temptation of a present terrour his landing caused in the Inhabitants, who in a confidence of their Castles had removed none of their goods, which rendered the booty so farre considerable as few returned empty handed, and many by there future living made demonstration of so great an abundance, that he gained so much love on all sides as his enemies durst not impute to him for a fault, any direction he had transgressed, in being too prodigall in exposing himselfe and the Army to danger, though his abusing that Article of *making Knights* so apparently, had produced this Libell,

*A Gentleman of Wales,  
With a Knight at Cales,  
And a Lord of the North country,  
A yeoman of Kent  
Upon a rack't Rent  
Will buy them out all three.*

This happy successe did not only estate him in the affections of the Militia and those addicted to the service of *Mars*, but put a no lesse high esteeme on his counsell and indeavours, then it abated the price of his opposers, the most of whom belonged to the side-robe (not seldome at odds in warre, but ever at enmity with souldiers during peace) who grew jealous that this sparke, worne already in the same place of the *Queenes* faction, from whence *Leicester* that terrestriall *Lucifer* was cast, for abusing his Sovereignes favour to pride and Mur-  
C ther,

ther, might through the Queenes mediation or his owne arts one day gaine the Crowne, to the prejudice of their interest, who had already vowed the uttermost of their indeavours to the *Scotish Tistle*, of whom he had this advantage, that whereas *Lecester* was hated by the people for the death of many, and amongst the rest of the Earle of *Essex* his Father in *Ireland*, this was bounded in their Love, no lesse than in the favour of his Princee, in whose heart his person had made as deep an impression, as his valour and affable nature had wonne upon her Subjects.

6. That she fomented Divisions abroad I hinted before, And now I must tell you she was not wanting in her indeavours to maintain *Factions at home*, by which she attained to the knowledge of all things that happened: so as no secret

or designe passed the royall assent, before she understood as much of reason as enemies or friends could bring for and against it; hearing the judgments of all, to her very Ladies and ordinary Servants: nor did this freedome of communication betray her future resolutions to discovery; for through a seeming *inconstancy*, or, as others will have it, one more naturall, she did so often vary, as it was not easy to discover where or when she would conclude her buzzing, and give the blow: by which unsteady carriage she so befuddled the Spyes and Pensioners of forraine Princes, as they were at a losse what to informe their Barons of, or themselves how to resolve. The cause of the *Spanish Armado* in Eighty eight, an attempt held ridiculous by the *Flemings* and all acquainted with our sets; and only brought about through the over

confidence his Holinesse had in a Catholick party, which he assured himselfe would appeare upon the approach of a *Navy* stiled by him *invincible*. Here may be noted that counsels grounded upon forraine advice or any thing but a visible experience, do rarely succeed; for Interest in such as desire a change doth not seldome make them apprehend more advantages then really there are, and cover doubts and dangers they are privy to, out of a feare to dishearten the Prince they endeavour to imbarke in their defence; as it fell out here, where not one man appeared in favour of the *Spaniards*: the very *Papists* themselves being no lesse unwilling then the rest to see their native country in subjection to the ordinary cruelty found in *Strangers*.

But to be sure the former mentioned sort of dissembling with others



thers had stamped such a deepe impression upon the Queenes owne Nature and passions, as she fixed upon nothing with precipitation. The distrust she had of all sides obliging her to the Justice of equall hearings, which few in Sovereignty will be at the trouble to afford. And from hence grew the infinite indulgence that appeared so long in favour of Essex, who becoming wanton from his late Successes, though after moderated by some lesse happy, he grew into such heats and insolences towards any his Jealousy had marked for enemies, that the Queene, to keep even the scales betweene him and those of the *Cecilian* party, not only forbore to pamper him with new favours, but did not seldome frowne upon him, though he had yet so true a friend of her affection, that upon the least semblance of

submission and promise of returne to a better temper, it did mediate for him: *Love, like a bone, becoming more strong by breaches*; he being certaine upon every reconciliation to receive from her double the value of that her anger had cost him; Till these frequent repetitions of his faults and her forgivenesse had swelled him into such a Confidence of his owne mediation that he looked upon all as enemies, that in their words or actions acknowledged not his friendship, or, which was very ordinary in respect of his profuse Liberality, did not weare some badge of his favour. And amongst a number of these *St. Francis Bares* was one, who in an *Apology* he printed to vindicate his fame from the imputation of ingratitude to *Essex*, confesseth him *faire richer in obligations then payments*; the fate of all that set too high a value upon

upon friends purchased by any other coyne, then what beares the impresse of an Interest depending upon a future hope, *It being the policy of Courtiers, if not the nature of Love, to conclude where it begins, which is for the most part in Expectation.* Now because the generality of such as desired his ruine might think that the favour his Mistris shewed him proceeded from a nearer familiarity then I have been informed it did, by such as reported her apter both in her selfe and others to kindle the flames of Love, then quench them, They placed *Blunt*, a gallant Gentleman, and of an honourable extraction, in the ball of her eye, hoping by his application to draw from her heart the affection they thought mortall to them and their designs: but the whole result concluding in a Duell, did rather inflame then abate the

former account she made of him; The opinion of a *Champion* being more splendid (in the weak and Romantick sense of women, that admit of nothing fit to be made the object of a quarrell but themselves) and farre above that of a Captaine or Generall: So as *S<sup>r</sup> Edmund Cary*, brother to the Lord *Hunsden*, then *Chamberlaine* and neer Kinsman to the Queene (from whose mouth I have most of this) told me, that though she chid them both, nothing pleased her better then a conceit she had, that her beauty (of which her flatterers had bred in her a higher esteeme then an impartiall eare or eye can think due from others report or her owne pictures) was the subject of this quarrell; when God knowes it grew from the stock of honour of which then they were very tender, and some meane expressions

*Essex*

Essex used of Blunt, about his being imployed in Ireland, and not her amorous carelesse, which age and in a manner an universall distribution of them had by this time rendered tedious if not loathsome, intimated in a modest expression uttered in my hearing by Sr Walter Rawley, none of her least respected Servants, who upon some discourse of the Duke of Buckingham, said to this purpose, *That persons were not so happy as vulgar judgement thought them, being frequently commanded to uncomely and sometimes unprofitable employments.* But his enemies finding all complaints made to his disadvantage, though true, neglected or hung upon the sleamongst such as he resolved at his better leisure to inquire into the practices of. And remaining as obstinate in resolution to destroy him as he did yet ap-

peare in his preservation, did in-  
 deavour, as a last refuge, to ac-  
 celerate his destruction by accumulating  
 upon him such high favours and ho-  
 nours as they observed most sut-  
 able to his humour, and fortunes of  
 the Sword-men through whose con-  
 fells they found him the most easy  
 to be led, and amongst whom ma-  
 ny were placed neere his person by  
 themselves. And from these they  
 received upon all emergencies ad-  
 vice of his carriage: It being with  
 him as it doth ordinarily betide ho-  
 nest and generous Natures, that pe-  
 rish oftener through confidence,  
 then distrust, and for ordinary other  
 meanes have removed this *Leviathan*  
 (too deeply strook with  
 the hisping-irons of malice) from  
 the ocean of favour he lay in, but so  
 simple. A Commission as might give  
 his Ambition full power and room  
 to expatiate in, by which he was  
 most

most likely to be tug'd a ground;  
Not wise enough to apprehend Ma-  
ny things he found inserted in his  
Patent, as *liberty to Pardon or pu-  
nish the Irish Rebels* *sutable to his  
owne will*, and power to reward with  
*lands or honours* all he esteemed war-  
thy, were such flowers of the Crown  
as his enemies (to the disadvantage  
of whose friends he might employ  
them) could not in reason but have  
found cause to oppose, had they  
been pick'd out for any milder de-  
signe, then to deck a *Garland* for  
that head they meant to sacrifice to  
their malice and revenge. But this  
being acted (though long before  
studied) amongst the last Scenes  
of her Tragedy, I shall deferre the  
conclusion till some other time, in-  
deavouring here (according to my  
weak fancy, prompted only by Re-  
port) to draw a *prospect* of her  
Court where, all her raigne, *Ma-  
jesty*

*sty* and *Thrift* did strive for preeminence without inroaching upon any confine either of *Basenesse* or *Prodigality*. Nor can this be wondered at by such as know the power she derived from Law or custome to be furnished with all *Provisions* at a set price, By which a heavy Imposition was cut off, found by experience to load *Greatnesse*, seldome admitted to a cheap *Market*: Sellers recompensing their want of honour, by the *Excise* they put on such as owne it. And because this was Arbitrary at the will of the *Greene cloth* (a Court only intending *Provision* and *Carriages*) The *Purveyors*, upon whom lay the execution, And so by consequence the envy, were, if guilty, at the mercy of every accuser, being not seldome hang'd or put in the Pillory upon the discovery sometimes of small abuses: Her Government appearing so full of policy, as the



she was rarely found to interpose the power of the Crowne in her owne cause: Who by turning her face towards the sinnes, and countenancing the punishment of such Harpies, did besides stop the future current of their Corruption; Through which she became not only better serv'd, but gained an opinion of Justice, and Mercy towards her people: it being the male-administration, more then badnesse of any Office, I ever knew during her raigne or her Successours, legally erected, that raised murmuring in the people, the il-boding voice of Sedition, which if heard, is not to be neglected, but like the Sea stopped by the bankes of Justice, for if once it growes epidemically, all indeavours do rather inflame then moderate it, as though to proceed more from necessity then love.

9. And here I think it not impertinent to insert a Story as it was

re-

related by an eye witnesse. A  
 A Parvejer having abused the Count-  
 is of Kent, upon her remove to  
 Green-wich (whether she often re-  
 sorted, being as I have heard the  
 first ayre she breathed, and there-  
 fore most likely to agree with her.)  
 a Country man watching the time  
 she went to walk, which was com-  
 monly early, and being wise enough  
 to take his time when she stood un-  
 beset and quiet from the ordinary  
 scissions she was taken up with,  
 placing himselfe within the reach of  
 her eare, did after the fashion of his  
 count, cry aloud *which is the Queen*  
*whereupon,* as her manner was, she  
 turned about towards him; and he  
 continuing still his question, she her  
 selfe answered *I am your Queen,*  
*what wouldst thou have with me?* he  
 replied the Fellow, *I am one of the re-  
 spect Women I ever saw, and can give  
 no more then my daughter Madge,*  
*who*

who is thought the poorest Lesse in  
our Parish, though short of you, but  
that Queene Elizabeth I. looke for,  
devoures so many of my Hennes,  
Ducks, and Capons, as I am not  
able to live. The Queene, no lesse  
suspicious to all suites made through  
the mediation of her comly shape, of  
which she held a high esteeme after  
her Looking Glasses (long laid by  
before her death) might have con-  
futed her in any good opinion of her  
Face, then malignant to all Oppres-  
sion above her owne, inquired who  
was Parveyer, and as the story went  
suffered him to be hang'd, after a spe-  
ciall order for his trial, according to  
a Statute formerly made to prevent  
abuses in this kind. guilty  
5010 This Princesse, in imita-  
tion of her Father Henry the eighth  
did admit none about her for Priests  
or Priory, Chamberlains, Squiers  
of the body, Carvers, Cup-bearers,  
Sewers

*Sewers &c.* (that were not a few in number) but *persons of stature, strength and birth*, refusing to one her consent (demanded before any could be admitted to the meanest place in her house,) because he wanted a *tooth*; yet was never knowne to desert any for age or other infirmity after once inrolled; but either continued them, or, upon their discharge, gave them considerable and well paid pensions. As for her *Guard, Usbers, Porters*, and all attending below *Stayers*, they were of a no lesse extraordinary size, then activity for *Shooting, throwing the Barre, Weight, Wrestling &c.* So that such as came hither from beyond the seas upon *Embassy* or *curiosity* (who calculate the strength, wisdom and honour of a Nation by the

the apparitions they behold at Court) had no other cause but to report at their returne, That though a Feminine Constellation governed the Fate of England; yet there remained little hope to any strange Malignity of operating with successe; because her designs were begotten under *Mercury*, and brought forth by the assistance of *Mars* in case of opposition. She owning Soldiers no lesse able to act, then Counsellours to advise; In whose choyce (for the most part) wisdom was solely looked upon; not putting by Sufficiency though accompanied with a *meane Birth*; and *Crooked person*, as it chanced in a Father and Sonne of the *Cecilis*, both incomparable for Prudence. It being sometimes necessary to make wise men Noble, where

where Noblemen are too lazy  
and addicted to pleasure to indea-  
vour to be wise.

It is the highest step of ad-  
vantage a Prince can meet with, To  
have for Counsell about him, per-  
sons whose fortunes are of the same  
price with his owne: The consider-  
ation of which may abate the won-  
der *Queene Elizabeth* prospered so  
well at the beginning, when incum-  
bered both within and without by  
such difficulties, or how she came  
to out-reach (before scarce able to  
stand upon her owne leggs) so ex-  
act a Master in King-craft, as the  
*Spaniard*. I confesse her being a  
woman did render the delay of Mar-  
riage more sutable to his patience  
and her honour, then otherwise it  
could have been. But the dexterous  
management of this advantage must  
be attributed to the great wit of  
her *Juncto*, amongst whom her grea-  
test

test Confidents were of the *Au-*  
*gustan* Confession and therefore un-  
likely to continue in favour, if in  
being, after such a Conjunction as  
*Philipp the second* desired. Nor could  
distance of place, the deluder of eyes,  
hinder the inspection of that Prince,  
who having commanded in England  
some yeares under the right of *M-*  
*ry*, could not but in probability  
heare all that was to be knowne. And  
if we may guesse at the *Queens* en-  
ragement in this, by her proceedings in  
the two *Treaties of Marriage* after  
with *France*, we may presume she  
did purchase this delay, (if not buy  
off the discovery of some *Infidelity*)  
with the Articles of her Opinion  
contrary to those of *Rome*, and to  
which, as appears by an old letter,  
the *Catholick King* was not at that  
time averse. Though upon her deli-  
ding him, to avoid such a Schisme in  
the lower *Germany* as had happened  
in

in the upper; he did indeavours to introduce the *Inquisition*: Fortune having rendered him so indulgent from the beginning to the Queenes preservation, that he sold the *Low-Countrys*, the only place able to purchase her peace, albeit gainers (as I have heard from the *Earle of Leicester* the last English man Governour of *Flushing*) fomented by those that treated this Match for her Majesty: which sound, *Pope Pius* darted out the former mentioned *Excommunication*, till then restrained through the mediation of *Philipp*. I shall not determine whether it was Godly zeale or worldly interest that prompted their judgments to these accurate counsells, since I finde both in some part gratified by future successes. Though I see cause enough in the latter to imploy all the beanes, both



both of the *Protestants* and *Papists* in power about her, the one owning their lives to her well being, and the other *Abby-Lands* to the continuance of it: for though *S<sup>r</sup> John Parsons* told me he had seene a *Bull* amongst *M<sup>r</sup> Seldens* Antiquities, by which the *Pope* confirmed the lands of the Church in the hands of their present possessours, provided they in other respects continued under his Obedience, yet whether this might be safely trusted to, I leave in suspence, and to their consideration that may remember they were fifty yeeres ago valued much below other Titles and Demeanes.

12. The cause, It may be thought Intererest as much as Love in her *Privy Counsell* that till *Lecosters* daies, none are found to have received *Pensions* from forraigne *Princes*

Princes or to play booty or deale treacherously in his Employments either at home or abroad: nor were honourable and gainfull Offices during her abode at the helme given to men of no larger capacities then were meerly requisite to the execution of the place; But bestowed upon such publique Spirits as were able to advise in the most crabbed affaires, by which the charge of their support was borne and the Common-weale served with men under a double Capacity. Now though we must yeild to Solomon, that *safety is to be found in a multitude of Counsellors*, Yet *Secrecy* is commonly absent in all Assemblies but where a few resolve: for which and perfect *Intelligence* from abroad (the light and director of the bark of Prudence) if any age before, I am sure none since can be compared with the daies of *Burgly* and *Walsingham* in this

this particular, whose steps Arch-Bishop *Banckroft* followed so close, as by fomenting a difference between the *Jesuites* and *Regulars*, he made a breach in their Unity, the strongest argument they have to support the *Papacy*, And, illuminated by so cleare a judgment, did through their clashing make so perfect an inspection into the secular practices of the *Consistory in Rome*, as he prevented many dangers might have other waies fallen upon the Nation: for which *Blackwell*, the then Popish *Metropolitan*, lay under some suspicion from the contrary Faction, how justly I know not. Yet have heard, that No Priest was landed any time in *England*, but the *Bishop* had a perfect Character of his temper and relations; The easier brought about by him that (in the estimation of the *Swissers*) owned most of their Tenants, being beside

side no rigid persecuter of any who had not in his composition the gall of Treason mixed with Religion: the *Regulars* being then in a high esteeme, because their opposers the *Jesuits* were about that time banished *France*, and their *Cells* demolished, with a *Pyramid* erected to their infamy, for an indeavour to *Assassinate Henry the fourth*. And from this Indulgence of the *Arch-Bishop* grew more security then danger, because such *Priests* as were connived at (the most of other *Orders*) looked upon the *Jesuits* as enemies, and all new-comers of their owne under a no milder aspect then intruders on their profit, And therefore the more inquisitive after their conditions, and if found pragmaticall, it was no hard matter to purchase their remove by the mediation of one so neere the helme as the *Bishop* was, who besides the  
qua-

quality of Secrecy remaining so constant to his promise, as it was more safety then danger for them to rely upon his word. And that some cunning Devils did in-  
vade the universities amongst themselves all the profit to be made by the English Catholics, I have a particular proof from a Priest I saw with me on the other side the water, who told me he lived hereafter during the Tyranny (as he was pleased to call it) of *Queen Elizabeth*. Then from the licence afforded under King James, by which divers young Scholars of both the Universities were daily tempted into Ordre, and many (restrained before by the love of their safety) did now run headlong in flames, to the great detriment of the old standers. Yet notwithstanding the incomparable diligence of this Prelat, under two Princes, for the pre-  
D serva-

ſervation of peace and unity, He  
was abominated by the preciſer ſort,  
the heat of whole zeale appeares the  
more unnaturall, becauſe their  
mouths were furred with bitter and  
unſavory Invectives, which follow-  
ed him after the hand of Death had  
laid him out of the reach of all e-  
ther favour but what is due to his  
deſert from Charity and Gratitude.  
Therefore to be ſtrongly preſumed  
the worſt malice could invent, And  
inſerted by me, according to the  
Mode of an Hiſtorian, whoſe plow  
(for the ſake of poſterity) I wiſh I  
were able to drive; However I am  
no waies correfpondent for the praise  
or blame due to any verſes found  
here, ſuch as theſe,

*Here lyes my Lords Grace at ſea  
and at ſea,  
And, if I do not live, He ſhall be  
Heaven.*

I wish with my heart it may be to his  
 looking,  
 Since all the world knows it was  
 never his looking.

Another,  
 Banerose was for Plagues,  
 Lean Ham and Holy daies,  
 But when under goes their Deedes  
 Had English Lodges forth,  
 Yet kept open a Back dore  
 To let in the Trumpet of Rome.

I confessed I have heard him Chara-  
 ctered for a *Feiall Doctor*, but very  
 Jealous of the Clergies revenue, no  
 lesse then his countrie safety, which  
 he indrevoured to bring about  
 through a reduction of *Britanny* in-  
 to one forme of worship, by the  
 traine of *Calvins* most rigidly op-  
 posed. But the two contrary Fac-  
 tions

*ons at Court* (one of them thinking all things fit to be destroyed the other laboured to preserve) did, upon the vacancy of every *Bishoprick*, put one in futable to their humours that had the luck to prevaile: The cause the present Incumbent did, like the web of *Penelope*, unravell what his Predecessour had with more policy and charity twisted: By which meanes the Diocesses of *Canterbury* and *York* were at one and the same time of contrary Judgments, And the best of Clergy men (driven into a medium by the scorching heats of the one side, and chill indifference of the other) lost their labour and all hope of performing in a vain endeavour for a reconciliation, and unable to be brought about, the one party being furnished by hypocrisy to bear out their Ignorance, and the other from power and want of reverting

into



into the primitive Austerity: which held so long in this unconstant vicissitude, till what was continued meerly out of policy at Court, did in a short time branch forth in City and Country into divers popular differences, futable to the mold of every head and the interest of such persons as had the subtilty to fit them to their occasions: Zele, like Lead, being as ready to drop into bullets, as to mingle with a Composition fit for medicine. So as in those daies it was impossible for men in Power but to be scandalous to one side or other.

13. *Dispatches* from the *Cassell table* (of which I have some Volumes) began and held on throughout in a plaine and the same Stile, not seldome admitting of severall constructions, if of any interpretation at all where the business related to a thing whose consequence

could not easily been seen into: As appears at the beginning of all Treaties. And especially in the two offers of Marriage with France, which the Queen managed with such dexterity and secrecy, That wise *Walsingham* (as appears by his Letters) through whose hands the whole businesse passed, did not know certainly whether she was re- all or no: But in what was thought proper for Transaction, all things were plaine drawne in *Latine*: This put together did much facilitate the Office of her Secretaries.

14. Now as wisdome and Secrecy appeared in her Counsell Chamber; So Hospitality, Charity and Splendor were dilated over the whole Court; where, upon the least acquaintance, all strangers from the Noble man to the Peasant, were invited to one Table or other (of which she kept abundance, where ever

ever she removed from one standing house to another, unlesse she returned to *White Hall* at night ) the least considerable suting with three, foure, or five hundred pounds per *Annum* expence; And for bread, beere and wine (commonly called by the name of *Budget*) though the Purveyors that brought it in, were called to strict accounts, such as issued them out were rarely questioned, but in case they sold it: And by this Generosity the ordinary sort of people were so indeared, as I have knowne some brag of their entertainment at Court twenty yeares after, such like dogges seldome biting those have once fed them. Though with the same meate they have been at the paines to eat themselves. It coming all out of the Country in Busshes or yards. The wine being little when Custom was abated.

15. Yet though she was thus plentifully provided of all things at home; She did not seldome fetch an *Entertainment* at such *Grandees* houses as were understood to be most popular: By which she removed her Subjects eyes from intending wholly the influence of these inferior Starres, and fixed them upon a greater splendor of her owne: besides her out-doing them in the art of Popularity, acting to the life the Pageant of the people (which all Princes really are, and the wisest the most Gaudy) from whence it is farr more indeering to throw flowers then wild-fire: And if this her *affability* did not work upon the wad, The greatnesse of their Expence did not faile to render them lesse able to hurt: And in case this was not sufficient to moderate their ambitious thirst after popularity, she found them diversions in forraigne

*Employments*, whither they were sent *Embassadors* or *Agents*, by which their estates were gelyd, and the owners rendered the lesse rampant and unable to maintaine their former bewitching humour of *Hospitality*; so as in *Parliaments* they became assertors of the profit of the Crowne, in hope to have such debts refunded as had beene contracted by themselves in the service of the State; whose honour she preserved at the lowest expence that ever Prince did, and not seldome at their charge who might other wise have imployed their revenues in fomenting *Sedition*.

16. The *Parliament*, knowing not where to fix upon a *Successour* to the Crowne without the hazard of Religion, or danger of a *Civill* warre; the *Regent* of *Scotland* having yet no Child, and being too strongly supported from *France* to

miscarry under a title so firmly  
built as the Catholicks maintained  
hers was to this Nation (if not in  
present) upon the death of the  
Queene; did in the first *Petition*  
they made invite Her Majesty to  
take a *Husband*. In which they min-  
ded more their future, then present  
felicity, not so likely to result from  
a Married as a Single Prince, whose  
expense cannot choose but swell  
proportionable to the offspring pro-  
duced: And in this they were con-  
siderate as to passe by all mention of  
a *Successour*, ever ungratefull to her  
eares during the whole Series of  
her raigne, and not seldome fatal  
to such as were so hasty as to move  
it: So as it cost some deare, and  
*Pigot* and *Vventworth* their Liberty;  
though they proposed it in *Parlia-  
ment*, The safety in her selfe found  
in the concealing her intent, out-  
witting, the danger of a Civill warre,  
which

which in all humane reason could not but impend the nation, in case of her death: For whilest she observed this impartiall neutrality, none could pretend cause of complaint: And in case any one had made ostentation of a *Title* before the people, she had the rest ready to asperse it; there remaining none free from Objections, the most legitimate in appearance passing for an *Alien* and so incapable, or an *Enemy* and so incompetent to govern: It being as impossible to please, as dangerous to oppose the weakest interest of the *Papist*, *Puritan* or *Protestant*. But to this request of her, great *Grief* (which she could not hinder, being the desire of the *Court*, as well as the Sense of the *Parliament*) she returned a stout, though but an uncertain answer, as is legible in the common *Chronicles*, whose veritalls I profess myself to shew.

shunne, feeding my pen rather with  
 such scraps as I have picked out of  
*Letters and Discourse*, the store house  
 of *Tradition*. Not so likely to flatter,  
 if to lye, as the writings of  
 those meane Contemporaries that  
 for the most part have imbarcked  
 their pens in our English affaires,  
 who had still some feare or hope in  
 their elbowes ready to jog them  
 towards the interest of the present  
 or future Governours. Confessed  
 by learned *Cambden* himselfe, whose  
 lines were directed by King *James*,  
 and he lead rather to vindicate the  
 honour and integrity of his *Master*,  
 then to do right for a *Master*, that  
 had from a *School-master* taileed him  
 to a capacity of being the *first King*  
*at Armes*.

17. Her Sex did beare out ma-  
 ny impertinences in her words and  
 actions, as her making *Latine* *speeches*  
 in the *Universities*, and profes-  
 sing



sing her selfe in publike *stage*,  
then thought something too The-  
atricall for a virgine Prince, but es-  
pecially in her *Traites* relating to  
Marriage. Towards which some  
thought her incapable by nature,  
others too propense, as may be  
found in the black relations of the  
*Jesuits*, and some *French* and *Span-  
ish Pasquils*. That pretend to be  
more learned in the Art of Inspecti-  
on, then wile away the fourth their  
King, who in a joviall humour told  
a *Scots* Marquess: *There were three  
things inscrutable in intelligence:*  
1. *Whether Marrying the Prince of  
Orange* (who never fought battaile,  
as he said) *was valiant in his per-  
son.* 2. *What Religion himselfe  
was of.* 3. *Whether Queene Eliza-  
beth was a maid or no:* which may  
render all reports dubious that come  
from meaner Men: yee it may be  
true that the Ladies of her bedcham-  
ber

ber denied to her body the ceremony of *searching* and *imbalmi*ng, due to dead Monarchs: But that she had a *Son* bred in the State of *Venice*, and a *Daughter* I know not where nor when, with other strange tales that went on her, I neglect to insert, as fitter for a *Roman*ce, then to mingle with so much truth and integrity as I profess: In which if I am in any thing mistaken, let it be laid on mine own want of knowledg, or their Ignorance that misled me. This I may safely attest, that the smallest chip of that incomparable Instrument of honour, Peace and Safety to this now unhappy Nation, would have been then valued by the people of *England* above the loftiest branch in the *Caldenian* Grove. Who as she was the choicest Artist in *King-craft* that ever handled the Scepter in this Northern Climate, So she went beyond

yond all her Ancestors in adapting  
to her Service the most proper  
tooles, in whose fittest applicati-  
ons she was seldome mistaken, The  
only cause can be given why she so  
rarely changed her Secras Counsell,  
Especially those she made privy to  
any of her last results, which did not  
weakly contribute to her safety:  
Such resembling Keyes, that once  
lost or misplaced, no future securi-  
ty remains but in changing the lock.  
And though this hath already fal-  
len under my consideration, yet I  
am forced to resume it againe in the  
vindication of the *charges* of some  
*officers*, about the middle of her  
Reigne, accused first for Weak-  
nesse, which if not a Mistake made  
by envy or for want of an exact un-  
derstanding of the parties use, some  
being placed, after she Counsell  
grew numerous, only to tell tales  
and ballance voices she disliked in

pub-

publique, without the least understanding of what was thought necessary to succeed in private, a multitude of hands adding dignity to inland affaires, it being ordinary with the generality to esteeme wisdom according to measure, rather then weight. And amongst these few can be found out of her Kindred or such Friends as her *Fathers* Honour or her owne *Comatitute* for kindnesse shewed during the life of her *Sister*, kept her from excluding them the lists, though the stronger heads of others were wholly imployd when her occasions called her to grapple with any difficulties. Nor was there more then the honour and profit of *Lord high Admirall* intrusted with the *Earle of Nottingham*, but executed by a *Commission* selected out of the ablest seamen that age did afford, he being imployd for his *fidelity*, knowne to be impregnable in  
relation

relation to Corruption: Neither was there a goodlier man for person in Europe, as my eyes did witness though they met not with him before he was turned towards the point of 80, no youth being more celebrated for gallantry and good fortune then his. I confesse that in his age he married a young Lady allied to King James, which set his wisdom many degrees back in the repute of the world.

But to discharge this cavill from any farther dispute, No Prince then extant took an exacter estimate of her Subjects Abilities to serve her, or made a deeper inspection into their Aptitude, Nature and Humours, to which with a rare dexterity she fitted her favours and their Employments: as may be instanced in Francis Vere, a man nobly descended, Walter Renny exactly qualified, with many others set a part in her

her Judgment for military services, whose Titles she never raised above *Knighthood*; Saying, when importuned to make *General Essex* a *Baron*, that in his proper Sphere and in her estimation he was above it already. Therefore all could be expected from such an addition, would be the intombing of the spirit of a brave *Souldier* in the corps of a lesse sightly *Courtier*. And by tempting him from his charge, hazard that reputè upon a *Captain*, his valour had dearly purchased him in the *Field*. Nor could she indure to see her Subjects wear the titles of a forraigne Prince, the cause she committed *St. Matthew Arundell* of *Warder* in the *West*, for accepting from the *German Caesar* the Dignity of a *Count*. And denied *St. Phillip* Signe the *Crowne of Ireland*.

13. The example of *most of her* *Souldiers*,

*Souldiers* express in the *Neiber-lands* rarely found amongst *Auxiliaries*, with her refusall to own or impose the name of *her Vassals* upon the *Dutch*, gained her a huge confidence amongst her *Neighbours*, that her complexion was pure from the contagion of any more destructive *Ambition*, than the preservation of her honour and those Nations her birth no lesse than desert had presented her with: which made them unapt to offend her; none but *Catholicks*, and they for the most part *Priests*, wishing her remove, and not knowing where to finde a Prince lesse offensive and more debonaire, the cause many *Treasons* concluded in the losse of their heads that projected them, or sought to put them in execution. Yet in this her temperment of desire in relation to *augmentation of Empire*, her prudence so minded her of the nations future

future safety, as That friends under persecution doe not seldome face about upon the approach of Security and power: wherefore she made sure of *Flushing* and *Brill*, which in regard of situation were so full a Content of the ir whole strength, As the application of it could not upon their miscarriage in relation to the *Catholicke King*, or their own future Ingratitude, obliterate the advantage *England* might make of that revolt: Though the many lent cover'd it in Reason and Justice from much of the envy it might have contracted, had she imployed force or fraud in their purchase. Nor did the receiving from the hands of the *French Hugonots*, *Haver de Grace* ( upon a like exigency ) signify more Ambition than the reduction of *Calis*; which might have undoubtedly succeeded, had she not according to her usuall custom,

starved



starved the designe for want of money and men, a fault the more excusable, because it relates to the tender care and respect had of her Subjects Lives and Estates. And here by the way it is worth noting, That the *Holanders* could not so easily have attayned *Freedom*, but through the help of the Ministers of *Spaine*, who by eradicating the ancient *Nobility* and *Gentry* reduced them into a *Parry*, and so by consequence made them capable of unity, the nource of all Combinations.

19. Amongst all her *Minions* none (according to report) had fairer for the *Queens* Brid-bed than *Leicester*, who, finding by the continual high beating of her heart, that she would never allow of so great an abatement of *Soveraignty* as a *Match* with a forraigne Prince, could not but in honour have the sayles

sayles of his expectation somewhat  
sweld therewith. He would in her  
gayeties (which till the death of ~~his~~  
were very frequent) aske her, "If he  
"did not think she had some Subje-  
"cts of her own, able (though it must  
"be confessed none worthy) to make  
"an Heire for the Kingdom of Eng-  
"land? Since her Father was knowne  
"to doe it, yet a Man, & so incapable of  
"any eclipse of honor by the high-  
"est Princeesse? Neither did his often  
"repeated condescensions to making  
"Subjects his after-wives breed him  
"that danger that he sustained by  
"the first glorious Match (accord-  
"ding to expectation) that he made  
"with the Sister of Charles the  
"Emperer, which all the Prudence  
"he owned could not unravel with-  
"out straying the cordes of Go-  
"vernment, if not Conscience, by  
"that desperate leape he made out  
"of the Church of Rome, and sepa-  
rating

"rating himfelfe from the union of  
 "other Princes. Nor did *Philip the*  
 "*second* prove more happy to your  
 "Sister for the present, nor to the  
 "future expectation of the Nation  
 "that lacked nothing to intaile fer-  
 "vitude upon them but an Heire  
 "of her body; which yet had not  
 "been wanting, according to report,  
 "but supplied by a Cushion, but  
 "that the generosity of the Spani-  
 "ard, and the periwasion of a bet-  
 "ter successe from your embraces  
 "(which his hopes flattered him  
 "with) did for the present make him  
 "to detest it: The cause it was after  
 "voyced to be a false conception.  
 All which I have heard often, And  
 read some where, though the Au-  
 thor hath escaped my memory: Nor  
 could *Lecester* render his bed vacant  
 to a more thriving end (as he is  
 rumor'd to have done) than to make  
 roome for the greatest and most for-  
 tunate

runate Princes the Sun ever looked upon without blushing in relation to Oppression or Blood. This may be allowed upon the score of probability, That *his* Lordship would hardly have been so rampant and uncivill without some extraordinary invitation, as to draw a blow in her presence from an other Privy-Counsellor, more zealous possibly than discreet, to whom when the Queen sayd, *He had forfeited her hand,* his reply was, *he hoped she would suspend that judgement: till she Traytor had lost his head, who did better deserve it:* But this accident bordering to neere the confines of her Honor did admit no farther debate, it being no other than she in a lesse sprightly humor might have given her selfe, none being more flexible to all kind of Jollities than the mindes of Princes when untied from publique affaires. Now whether these

these *Amorosities* were naturall, or meere poetically and personated, I leave to conjecture, That may ever find imployment in the actions of Kings. This I am sure of, these gaudy gleams of favour shone not long upon any single person, but were soone eclipsed upon the apparition of a fresh Sparke. And here to conclude any farther discourse of *Leicester*; he was a man of eminency for Person; but branded by his enemies (of which he had not a few) for a defect in Wisdom or Integrity during his aboad in the *Netherlands* where with no good successe he executed the place of the *Queens* Generall.

101. This Princess used never to precipitate a *retaliation* in reference to *forraigne Injuries*: by which her Enemies had leasure given them to consider of a *reparation*, no lesse than her selfe of Revenge in case of

E

Contumacy

Contumacy, and time to put her strength in the better array; Manifest throughout her whole expedition into Scotland; where though she had fomented such a party of the Nobility of that Nation as were able to receive and secure a force of her own, which upon their intercession she sent, yet was it without any Commission to fight or take notice of the Crowne of France, from whom the Scotch Queen was immediately assisted; but only against the house of Guise that were chiefly instrumentall in behalfe of their Sister Mary. Contrary to the most ordinary practice of our best advised Monarches, who to gratify the clamor of a few imberbered Merchants, and to vindicate an honor capable of diminution, but from a totall neglect or visible incapacity of being ever able to right it selfe, doe, like inconsiderate Bees, in a  
rash

rash and passionate Distemper, by misemploying their *Stings* (all the naturall force they have) render themselves (for the future) weak and contemptible, by an unseasonable demonstration of the worst they can doe; which, till experimented, is for the most part imagined greater than in truth it is.

21. Her frequent calling *Parliaments*, and not staying till she was compelled, kept them in so moderate a temper, as they were more awfull to the country than the Court; where some grievances might be connived at, but never approved, so the easier accompted for when cal'd to question: nor doe I find her concession granted to any *Statute* for her peoples good, by way of exchange, but purely out of grace, and for the most part before it was desired. Wisely projecting, that when

*Necessity is the Chapman, the Man-*

ket doth naturally runne high. Therefore being chaste from all other intrusion upon the nations liberty, but what respected common safety and the honour of the Crowne; she was able without murmur to commit such of the house of Commons as presumed to meddle or enquire who was most fit or had the best right to succeed her. Neither was she lesse tender and jealous of Disputes in Religion, an apple in the eye of Government; which if once suffered to roll and grow wanton, will render the peoples mindes unsteady betwixt the obedience they owe to God and their Prince, fondly imagining the first may gratified at the prejudice of the latter. Zeale being the Flint, and ambition the Steek out of which the sparkes of Rebellion have in our dayes kindled the most fatall mischiefes; which she kept during her reigne from clashing,

ing,



ing, by denying the *Parliament* all farther debate of *Ecclesiasticall ceremonies*, And shewing them their no lesse injustice than levity to question what they had so firmly estated in her Person, who was yet resolved to introduce no more than what was lately confirmed by themselves, on their Fathers; so notorious to all, as the Doctrine professed most generally in *England* bore in forraigne nations the name of *Parliament-Faith*. Nor was this her prudent restraint looked upon with any great reluctancy by any but *Cartwright* and some such adle heads, whose Judgments were trimmed according to the Mode of *Amsterdam*; of whose distempered passions the *Queen* made so much advantage, as to keep the *Church* humble and quiet whilest she gellt their *Sees* by exchanges, and other mortifications of their power and estates, which

during her life were not suffered to blaze out in their *Ecclesiasticall Officers*, as since they did: which is the only visible cause can be given, why so much worth as resided in this Princess is so little celebrated. And all this wheeled about with the lesse disturbance of the higher Orbes, because few opposers of *Church-discipline* were in her dayes eligible, or so much in favour with the people, being for the most part oppressors, or indicted of hypocrisy; the most eminent for Parts, Titles, or Estates (as it falls out in relation to new schismes) growing weary or full satisfied with the profit already gained by the great leap themselves, or their Ancestors had made from *Rome*. Nor were the poorer sort better apayd when they compared the Present hospitality with that reported of old before the *Religious houses* were demolished, the cause

I have not seldome my selfe heard them with a returne to the *Catholick Church* under the title of the *old Learning*: Nor so well pleased with the *saving doctrine* of the *Protestant* profession, as they formerly were under the more liberall distributions of the *Monasteries*. Nor was it the guise of these prudent times to *dissolve Parliaments* in discontent ( by which a quarrell seemed to be pick- ed with the whole nation ) But to *adjourne* them in Love. Wherefore having to doe with the same men, she was seldome compelled to alter her course, it being impossible that a Prince who had her peoples affe- ction in grosse, should find it wan- ting in their *Representation*. And it is no lesse remarkable, that in so long a raigne she never was forced ( as I have heard ) to make use of her *Negative power*; But had still such a party in the *house of Lords* as

were able to save her that labour. Neither was she ever terrified by feare, to bestow Office on Honours upon any out of no other reason than to draw them from the contrary party; unlesse *Seminaries*, and of this she grew at last weary, saying once in publicke, *she would not ransom her selfe from enemies at the price of their proferments that lov'd her.* But in case she found any likely to interrupt her occasions, she did seasonably prevent him by a chargable Employment abroad, or putting him upon some service at home she knew least gratefull to the people: contrary to a false Maxim since practised with far worse success, by such Princes who thought it better husbandry to buy off Enemies, than reward Friends: which once observed, it tempted some that were ambitious to lay out the strongest of their endeavours against their

their Prince only in hope to be bought off. And for such as desired a farther recoyle from the Pope than was thought fit to be made, they were not so numerous or well agreed yet, as to actuat any disturbance, being for the most part poore, and, as all *Schismatiks* doe at first, glorying more in Suffering, than in any other opposition, but what they are able to raise with their penes or tongues, in which they were no lesse lavish than bold and indiscreet: yet meeting from the most in power only blame and contempt, they sought out new habitations for themselves and vents for their opinions in *Amsterdam*, where the *Dutch* allowed a generall *Mart* for all Religions (the *Papacy* excepted) without any nicer limitation than obedience to the Magistrate in things purely Civill. And by this they did not only draw much

of our coynethier, but our Manufactures of Weaving, Dying, Fulling, Spinning and Dressing of Cloth, Stuffe &c: Easy to have been prevented, by affording them an *Amsterdam* in England, some small *City of Refuge*, over which his Majesty might have set a discreet *Governour* with a *Garison*, whose charge they would willingly have borne, besides the payment of a large excise for their tolly. Nor was there any danger in this, it being impossible to make them unanimous: But the *Hierarchy* had been so bitten already by the Covetousnesse of Princes and the sharp and discerning Learning of the Layny, who uninterested in the general Controversies might have moderated to their disadvantage or set on foot a farther and more rigid Reformation: which, though a terror to those in power, is most delightful

full to the eares of the people ) That they perswaded the *Queene*, it was against *Prudence* and *Piety* to give them harbor ; yet in the meane time connived at *Lecturer* and *weekly Preaching*, through which they let in more by the Posterne, than they could croud out at the great Gate. Wherefore, this found out, wisdom should rather have left the attempt in the hands of Time, the Moderator of all things disputable, Than rendered them incorrigible through Opposition, the promoter of Error. I am the larger in this, lest posterity should be to seek for the foundation of the most destructive Revolution the Sun ever held light to, which was begun by thousands who never intended it, and wrought the ruine of that both sides laboured to preserve, with an excessive advantage to such as could neither expect or deserve it.

22 Amongst

22. Amongst the greatest things laid to her charge, as cast behind the dore of neglect, was the conduct of the *affaires of Ireland*, a place lying, all her *Hulcon* daies, under so great a contempt, (before *England's* lesse future felicity had brought it to esteeme) that wise *Walsingham* thought it no Treason to wish it buried in the Sea, considering the charge it brought: yet she kept the *Pale* in good order, not suffering the *Spanish* party to grow more potent in the *North*, than was convenient to consume his forces, and divers him from nearer and more dangerous attempts. It being impossible for her, without appearing grievous to her people (a Rock she chiefly studied to avoid) at one time to maintaine so dreadfull a Navy at sea, and to ment the *Dutch* and *French*, towards whose assistance she was called by



a louder Necessity, then to render  
a Nation quite desolate: None be-  
ing willing during her life to ex-  
change the present Government of  
a Naturall Princeesse, for the lesse  
happy Tyranny of a *Viceroy*, of  
which the most did study more their  
respective grandure by extending  
the warre, then the ease of the In-  
habitants and lessening the Queenes  
expence: Till the Noble Lord  
*Mountjoy* was imploy'd, who had  
no other designe then the conclu-  
sion of the work, which he had not  
yet so easily brought about but that  
the *Spaniards* found themselves be-  
trayed through the covetousnesse  
and cowardise of the *Natives*, thine  
for small sums would sell not only  
such forraigners as came to help  
them, but their nearest Relations.  
Wherefore unlikely to keep faith  
with their Prince, being of so false  
and inconstant a Nature, as by a

continually relapsing into Seditious practises they did with the same breath demand Pardon, and yet panted to accomplish something worthy of Death. Nor was it possible to reduce them to more Civility (the inhabitants being of such an amphibious education) but by curing the *Boggs* and *Fastnesses*, by building more Castles and Garrisons then she could spare Money or Men from her other occasions to furnish: But that which raised the greatest difficulty in relation to an absolute subjugation of this Province, was the power the *Priests* exercised over the *Natives* Consciences, who not able to resolve themselves, were implicitly led by their persuasions to cast off the English yoke and distress the Queen, who in the Roman dialect was stiled *Atretick*, and in whose favour no compact could be made, much less kept with.

without Mortall Sinne in the performer, especially upon the offer of any (though but seeming) advantage. Nor was the *defection of Ireland* one of the smallest inconveniences that resulted to this Crowne from the *Protestant Profession*.

23. In this miserable Nation, that wanted not only wisdom and virtue to purchase her owne Freedom, but a competency of patience quietly to submit to the English Civility, the former mentioned *Earle of Essex* buried his fortune. For after his more subtil Enemies, prompted by malice and his owne destructive Ambition, had placed him so farre off, it proved no hard matter (working upon her Majesties age and parcimonious humour) to distresse him, for want of choyne and other necessary provisions for so expensive an expedition: which cast him upon disadvantageous Tra-

ties

ties with Tyrone, the capitall Rebell, And might occasion the private discourse he had with him alone on horse-back in the midst of a River: which hinted to the Queen the first cause of that fatall suspicion, He might through the assistance of the Irish and English Army (already ready wholly at his devotion) attempt some novelty, a dismall which per the contrary Faction did hourly inspire her withall: And to give it a deeper tincture of probability, S<sup>r</sup> Robert Cecil gained leave of the Queene to advertise Essex, first of her being past hope, and after of her Death, stopping in the meane time all ships else, but what came laden with this fatall intelligence: And to secure her person no lesse than his owne; in case he took the wiser counsell of his friends to land in Wales with all the power he could raise, the English militia were put

in a posture of defence, of which no use was made, for the Earle's composition having alwaies participated more of truth and loyalty to his Sovereigne, with zeale to the Protestant Religion; then prudence or Reason of State. He, not only contrary to the will of his friends, but beyond the highest hopes of his Enemies, came over attended with some few Gentlemen; and in this naked condition finding the report false, he cast himselfe habited as a travellor at the feet of his Mistress, whom after he never met (unless since in heaven) being presently confined, yet to no stricter prison then his Chamber, and under no other guard but the obedience he owed to his Soveraignes Commands, who though daily importuned, could not be brought to signe a warrant for any severer Commitment, till after his passage through the City.

In

In which he did not only exceed the extent of his owne ordinary rashnesse, But the highest and most extraordinary plots of his Enemies. And thus was the *Earle* snatched out of the armes of his Mistress, and torne from the hearts of the people that were his Servants, by the subtilty of his Enemies, and in the fight of both brought to an untimely death. It appearing no lesse wonder that Prince and Subject did meet in their affections, Then that they should both be so quiet spectators of his ruin. But as God shewed in his death the weaknesse of the arme of flesh, so not long after he declared as plainly the power of his justice in a strict account he took from those that were the principall agents in it. For after the blow given, The *Queene*, presaging by a multitude of teares shed for him, the great drouth was likely to appeare  
in

in the eyes of her Subjects, when the hand that signed the warrant for it should be cut off, fell into a deepe Melancholly, whereof she died not long after. And for the Fame that immediatly followed her (if multitudes were not foully mistaken) she was more beholding to her successors misarrriages in the generall opinion, then any popular esteeme attending her to the grave: her death being reported to proceed from an occasion that would have beene thought ridiculous in an ordinary Lady, much more in a person of her magnitude: But such as take Princes for other then Men, shew they never saw them in true light who, like the Gods of the Heathen, cannot in their actions or speeches during Life be discerned from ordinary Mortalls, but by the worship given them, being so remote from owning any real Divinity,

vinity, As with the Crowne they put on greater frailties then they do deuest. For during the criticall minute of the *Queenes strangest affliction* (which was upon *Essex* his returne from *Cales*) he had importuned her for some signall token which might assure himy that in his absence (to which his owne Genius, no lesse then the respect he bare to the promotion of her honour, and obedience to her commands did daily prompt him) his *Enemies* (of whom he had many about the Chaire of State) should not through their Malice or Subtiley distresse him, or render him lesse or worse deserving in her esteeme: upon this, in a great deale of familiarity, she presented a ring to him, which after she had by oathes indued with a power of freeing him from any danger or distresse his future miscarriage, her Anger,

or



or Enemies malice could cast him into, she gave it him, with a promise, that at the first sight of it all this and more if possible should be granted. After his commitment to the Tower he sent this Jewell to Her Majesty, by the then Countesse of Nottingham, whom Sir Robert Cecil kept from delivering it. This made the Queen think her selfe scorned, a Treason against her Honour, And therefore not unlikely to be voted by the pride of so great a Lady more Capitall then That pretended against her Person, which power doth rarely suffer to scape unpunished: besides he had been tempted through passion to say, or his enemies to devise, That she now doted, and owned a mind no lesse cracked then her body, A high blasphemy against such a divine Beauty, as Flatterers, the Idolizers of Princes, had enshrined here in.

And from these his misfortunes, led on by the weaknesse *Folly* and *Age* had bred in her, his Maligners took advantage, so as his Head was off before discretion, love or pity had leasure to dictate, *The Ring might be miscarried and the former relation false.* But the Lady of Nottingham coming to her death bed, and finding, by the daily sorrow the *Queene* expressed for the losse of *Essex*, her selfe a principall agent in his destruction, could not be at rest till she had discovered all, and humbly implored mercy from God and forgiveness from her earthly Sovereigne: who did not only refuse to give it, but having smothered her as she lay in her bed, sent her accompanied with most fearefull curses to a higher Tribunall. Not long after the *Queenes* weakness did appeare mortall, hastened by the wilhes of many, that could not

in reason expect pardon for a fault they found she had so severely punished in her selfe, as to take comfort in nothing after. But upon all occasions of signing Pardons would upbraid the movers for them with the hasty anticipation of that brave mans end, not to be expiated in relation to the Nations losse by any future indeavour, much lesse so unseasonable an uncharitablenesse to a dying Lady.

24. After Essex was thus laid by, the totall management of State-affaires fell to St. Robert Cecil in right of wisdom, who free from competition became bold enough to inform the Queene, that so many yeares had bene already lapsed, and the peoples quiet hazarded by her delay, in not fixing upon one certain Successor: Nothing remaining waiting, but her concession, to free the Nation from a Civil warre, by declaring

clearing the King of Scots her law-  
full Heir, who besides an immedi-  
ate right, had the greatest power in  
hand to quell the hopes of all contra-  
ry pretenders, at that time more than  
a few, having long bene imbolden-  
ed either through her Majesties In-  
dulgence or Prudence, an Artifice  
dangerous for her people and not im-  
possibly now destructive to her selfe,  
the love of whom was by good Go-  
vernment for forty yeares, so deeply  
rooted in her Subjects, as it could be  
turned in nothing but her grave. Nor  
did he alone beat her eares with  
these sounds, no lesse terrible to  
her age at that day, when they had  
bene formerly ungratefull to her  
youth. But the generality of all  
about her, there remaining after Ef-  
fesse remove, no Faction at Court  
able to refuse any from the present  
or future revenge of this man, with  
whom the most did comply, for  
fear

fear of having their hopes blasted by this *Northern Sunne* that began to rise proportionable to the declension of the Queens health. The truth of which the most incredulous may find throughout the whole *Arraignment of Cobham, Gray, and Rawly*, professed *Antagonists to Essex*, under whose shelter they might have been protected in relation to their cause, though by them imprudently managed. This proves it no great hyperboly to affirme The Queene did not only bury Affection, but her Power in the Tombe of *Essex*, who having the Love of the people would execute without feare any Command, which they wanting durst not undertake: The cause *Cecil* thought it more prudence to rely upon the promise of a Prince his Father had made Motherlesse, than in the forgiveness of a multitude whose odium

F

he

he had by many proceedings contracted; But especially in being instrumentall in the death of *Essex*, and those hopefull young *Gentlemen* that lost their lives & fortunes with him: Amongst whom was *S<sup>r</sup> Henry Lee*, for only wishing well to the three Earles in the *Tower*, and an other executed in *Smithfield* for writing the newes of their Apprehension to his Father that was out of *London*. But not to exceed the designe of this piece which was not to asperse any, especially one allied so neerly to my *Grand-Mother*, and a Family now rendered Illustrious by two *Earldomes* and a number of glorious *Matches*; I shall relate only his wife *indeavours* to make *James* succeed, by whom he was courted with many *Letters*, and larger *promises* than, as I have heard, were ever performed, & other proposals made, amongst which was a *trasty* of  
peace

peace with Spaine, passionately desired of the *Scotish King*, who by this gratefull service thought to muzzle the mouthes of the *Jesuites*, and to have his offers of *connivance* more secretly and succesfully presented at *Rome*: and upon the same score, *Tyrones pardon* was moved to the *Queene*, and though at first refused by her with high disdain, yet after brought about for want of strength and Counsell to oppose it. Nor was an Inquisition after the Will of *Henry the 8<sup>th</sup>* omitted, which a *Cursiter* did about that time justify he had inrolled, though then not to be found, having before been taken off the File by some as small friends to the *Scotish title* as any other but their owne; *Harfords, Huntingtons &c.* being then ripe in every man's discourse. But to avoide all semblance of triumph over a Right already under the

weight of the severest misfortune:  
I shall conclude with *the most happy  
condition this unparallel'd Princess  
left the Kingdome of England in.*

25. It had *no considerable Enemy* besides the *Catholicke King*, And his power so maimed by the frequent blowes received from her Maritime Militia, that he sought peace in a posture far below the usuall pride and Rhodomontado gallantry of that Nation; apparent in the rich *Donatives* bestowed on all about *King James* who were any way likely to farther or obstruct it. As for the *wild Irish* ( a terme that age bestowed on the *Rebels* ) they were dayly found dead in bogs and woods with grass in their mouthes, giving no farther trouble to the English Souldiers( at her death not numerous, many having quitted the imployment out of grief for their Generall ) than to burne  
and



and spoile the Corne and other provisions of the Natives; far easier done, than they overtaken in their *Fastnesses* and *Bogs*, impassable to our Army. The *French* were by obligation wound up at least to a neutrality, if not in Policy bound to assist us in case the warre had gon on with *Spaine*: *Henry the fourth's* former *Defection*, though covered with a late formall *Conversion*, having yet not so strongly estated him in the affection of *Rome* as to make him despise the English Alliance or exchange it for any in judgment lesse remote from the *Pope*: or in case of his death or forgetfulness she had the *Hugonotes* to friend, who in all walled Townes prayed for her in publique, owning her for little lesse than their Princes under the title of a *Protectress*. Though the *Dutch* were no lesse hers by Interest than Gratitude, yet least pro-

perity should in a resty humor  
straine these cords, her hands were  
strengthened by *Cautionary Townes*,  
which did not only bridle them,  
but abate much of the danger our  
Merchants were in from those re-  
maining under the Crowne of  
*Spaine*; Not so much recruited a-  
bout this time by the reduction of  
*Ostend* after three years siege, as  
weakened by the former losse of  
*Sluce* in a far lesse considerable  
time. As for *Denmarke*, *Sweden*  
and other Nations that ordinary  
calculation hath seated east of us,  
she held good correspondence with  
them, But lay obnoxious to no o-  
ther inconveniences from them,  
Than what she sustained by the  
Frost, Snow and tedious weather  
the vicinity of their icy coasts useth  
to infest more happier Climats with-  
all.

26. Nor can she appeare lesse  
*Lovely*

*Lovely, wise and Successfull at home,*  
to any that is able to fix his eyes  
upon so great a Radiancy as did  
compasse the head of this Princess,  
without the darke vale of preju-  
dice, not hetherto drawn from be-  
fore the face of this nation by the  
visible indeavours of many. Com-  
parisons being apt to raise no lesse  
Odium at home then envy abroad.  
For through the series of her Raigne  
she kept *Parliaments*, the Pulse of  
this Nation, in such a temper as no  
signes appeard either of *Anarchy* or  
*Tyrannicall Oppression*; her Govern-  
ment having been handed to the  
people with that sweetnesse, that  
it was esteemed of no lesse advan-  
tage to them, than their obedience  
brought honour to her: under  
whom the *Crowne* remained in such  
*credit*, as the *Exchequer* was este-  
med equall security with the *Ex-  
change*, The Tellers of that Court

being as ready to issue out moneyes, as those that had Debenturs were willing to receive it. And if any contrary practice since brings the truth of this into suspence, let the Proverbe *As sure as Check* bayle me from the least suspicion of hyperboly. Her *Lands*, of which she had a vast proportion, were loaden with *Timber* fit for all imployments, lying ready upon occasion either to raise a *Navy*, or *Money* to pay Souldiers or Mariners. Nor was her *Treasury* quite empty, or the Crowne burdened with any considerable *debts*, but what a *Parliament* would without murmur have refunded; No cause of Jealousy remaining in relation to an incroachment upon their liberty or estates, Since she did not extend to the least generall prejudice her owne unquestioned interest in the perquisites of the Crowne; So as her *Parkes*, *Forrests* and *Charges*

ses were rather a relief than burthen to the Subject, it being then as rare to find a man of quality denied *Venison*; as to heare of one ( if not too intemperate ) punished for stealing it: And as the *Justice in Oyer* was moderate in his Courts that related only to the preservation of *Game*, So those in *Westminster-hall* were as carefull to distribute Equity and Right: or, if in her time some *Cashions* in *Chancery*, *Chequer*, and *Court of Wards* were taken with the *Moth of corruption*, it was after her Inspection fayled her, for want of a contrary Faction truly to informe, and no propensity in her Nature to protect such courses. The ordinary plea used after, of *selling Dear*, because they bought so, being voyd the most of her dayes; in which no visible Bribes for Offices were offered or accepted but what resulted from

your or desert. The *Church* in her dayes lay not disfigured in the filth of profanessie, nor was it dawbed by the varnish of Hypocrisy: *Ceremony* and *Sabbath* ( the ordinary pretences for Sedition ) being decently not rigidly commanded or observed. So as the wall-eyed blanchers at them were followed more out of reproach than approbation; And might have been so still, had not the State rendered them more considerable by their notice, than really they were; fondly imagining the *hatred* found in succeeding *Parliaments* to the *Papists* resulted from a *Puritanicall affection*, when it was for a long time in the most a feare of shaking the *titles of Abbey-Lands*, or a desire to free the *Laity*, in all things temporall and mulctable, out of the hands of the *Church*; who about the setting of this glorious Planet became something

thing more red and severe, than suited with a Calling no better supported: For though zeale in the *Clergy* may bias men towards religious duties, yet it hath often been found so much to alter the gate of the *Rable*; as they have quite forsaken the end of all Professions which is Obedience to God and their Governours, And inclined to more uncouth and destructive Opinions, than an open and unsuborned temper in Religion was ever yet found guilty of.

27. Thus I may have in part expiated for the neglect if not malice observable from the most *Relations* concerning *this Lady*; No lesse than vindicated my owne *Gratitude*, ( Whose *Grand-Father* and *Father* did both injoy a quiet, happy and plentifull fortune under her ) though in a stile and method far below her merit, As best appears by the *Bonfiers* & loud acclamations  
used

used still by the people upon the day of her *Inauguration*: The felicity of which was never since matched, nor have we had yet any cause to hope it will be, especially during my Life, which began under this beloved Priaceffe.



*FINIS.*





c  
-  
e  
-  
r

2

3

4